4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring, [782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1] This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

184 As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the 778 same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kahákxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a 361 bundle:—

1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

631 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in 778 this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Arikararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle 778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

[824] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of descent in the village group would arise only as the result of infrequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

GN
798
103

agree, nor does Murie's account agree with this manuscript. In his paper on Pawnee Societies, Murie lists a village named Black-Ear-of-Corn. According to the present manuscript this is an alternative term for a bundle called Fools-the-Wolves, belonging to a village of the same name. Also, Murie has a Fish-Hawk village, which according to the manuscript is the bundle of the Village-in-the-Woods (Village-in-Thick-Timber). Finally, he lists one village not mentioned here, its English equivalent being given as Village-on-a-Branch-of-a-River. In place of these last two, this report names the Pumpkin-Vine village and the Wolves-Standing-in-Water village. Murie mentions both of these but states that they were independent and does not include them in his list of the thirteen Skidi villages. His account implies that there were fifteen known Skidi villages in all. Though the present manuscript agrees as to the relative independence of the Pumpkin-Vine and Wolves-Standing-in-Water villages, it lists them as part of the thirteen villages belonging to the Skidi band. It should also be noted that Dorsey (1904, p. xviii) stated that there were nineteen villages; however, he did not give their names and reduced the number to thirteen in a later publication (1907b). There are no other important disagreements between the published statements of Dorsey and Murie and the present notes, except that Murie's Old village is here called the Four-Band village.]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska. They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away. From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi (Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East). Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages; for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on, when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands), Tskiriraru (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living. There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

5

THE WORLD OF A PAWNEE BOY:

SPRING 1867

000

The Day Begins in the Earth Lodge—Breakfast Preparations—Seating at the Meal—Daytime Activities of Women—Chiefs' Council—Supper and Evening Conversation—Plan for Deer Hunt the Next Day—End of Day's Activities

IN THE YEAR 1867, the villages of the Pawnees were strung along the west bank of Beaver Creek. (Beaver Creek flows southeastward into the Loup River that flows east to join the Platte which continues eastward to the Missouri. In the Skidi village of Pumpkin-Vine was the house of Chief Victory Call and his friend Old Bull with their families.)

It was a morning late in March, and the high dome-shaped earth lodges were huddled together in the predawn darkness. On this as on other mornings, Otter was wakened by the sound of his father's voice saying, "Fire's made." The dawn had not yet broken, and it was still cold; Otter burrowed down deeper under his little calfskin cover. He hated to leave the warmth of his bed that he shared with his grandmother. Just as the dawn began to break, Victory Call went outside through the long vestibule that was the entrance to the house to look at the position of the stars and to see what kind of a day it would be. Meanwhile his wife, White Woman, had gotten up to prepare breakfast. She would be cooking for twelve people and an extra guest, and the preparations would take at least an hour.

On both sides of the house along the low circular walls, the people were still asleep in their beds. There had been a long storytelling session the night before and Old-Man-That-Chief, who was one of the principal raconteurs, was too feeble to go home late at night, so a temporary bed was made for him near the fireplace where the fire was now burning brightly in the center of the room. High above the fireplace a shaft of

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest. Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedition met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18
Wichita NO10

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P
648
167
177
175
439
W
175
439
165
177
648
169
P
648
177
431
574
W
P
361

3 The Pawnees and other Caddoan peoples were an integral part of European trading plans. The Wichita played the part of middlemen in the trade between the Spaniards in the Southwest and the French to the east along the Mississippi. By 1777 the Wichita were so heavily depleted in numbers by disease and war that the Spanish authorities induced a considerable contingent of Skidi Pawnees to come and live permanently in the territory and join the Wichitas so that they could defend themselves against the tribes to the east who were aligned with the British. The fact that they have "kin" among the Wichita is remembered among the Pawnees today, and gift-giving relations are maintained among them along with formal intergroup visiting. See Weltfish, 1959, pp. 332-333; Hodge, 1912, p. 706.

3 Both the Pawnees and the Wichitas changed the locations of their villages at intervals of from twelve to fifteen years; this was considered a necessary sanitary measure. The direction of these movements was determined by a variety of social and political causes, but military and trade reasons were the most common ones. My informants gave me a list of the successive Pawnee villages in recent times and the contemporary locations of the Wichita villages. I have added, in parenthesis, Wichita locations cited in Wedel, 1959, pp. 67-68, for approximately these time periods:

P
W
361
.103

Wichita	*Pawnee*
Rio Grande in Texas (Wedel, north fork of Red River, Kiowa County, Oklahoma)	Old Village or Kitkehax-Pakuxtu before 1842
Chickasaw on the Washita River east of Anadarko (Wedel, the Washita drainage, Leeper Creek)	Willows-along-a-Stream or Kitapatuat, near Fullerton, Nebraska 1842–1846
	Hill-in-Water-Sitting or Pahaku, near Fremont, Nebraska 1851
Wichita, Kansas (also Wedel, 1863)	Reservation Village near Genoa, Nebraska October 1859
Anadarko, Oklahoma (also Wedel, 1867)	

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are:

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two!)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapartsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name.

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male.

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745